1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

114 influence has not been escaped by some of those who have
126 previously recorded words from the Toda language. Thus in his *Comparative Dictionary of non-Aryan Languages of India and Higher Asia*,[1] Hunter gives two vocabularies from different sources which he calls Toḍuva and Toḍa, and from the differences between these he thought they might be different dialects. According to Breeks these differences are due to the fact that the compiler of one vocabulary paid exclusive attention to the sounds he heard, while the compiler of the other was influenced by his knowledge of the derivation of the words. I have very little doubt that many of those who have recorded Toda words have not written them down exactly as the Todas said them, but as they ought to have said them according to the usual rules of Dravidian pronunciation.

We find, in consequence, very great diversity in the spelling of Toda words, and when there is agreement, it is of very little value, for many of those who have written on the Todas have evidently adopted the spellings of previous writers, even when they quite misrepresent the real sounds.

197 Another difficulty which besets the investigation of the Toda language is the presence of dialectical differences even in the small community of only eight hundred people. Metz[2] noted such differences, and I found undoubted variations in the vocabularies of the two divisions of the Todas (see p. 687) and suspected variations in pronunciation.

194 Still another difficulty is the large use of sounds, chiefly *sh*, *ch*, and *th*,[3] euphonically inserted in words. Pope notes this as quite a Toda peculiarity, and it adds greatly to the formidable character of this language, though a word of the most appalling complexity may become quite simple when these euphonic (!) sounds are eliminated.

191 Another of the sources of discrepancies in Toda vocabu-
192 laries is the influence of the Badagas to which I have already referred. The Todas are a bilingual people speaking Badaga in their intercourse with other races and keeping Toda for

1 ...don, 1868.

2 *...dras Journ. Lit. and Sci.*, 1857, N.S., vol. i. p. 104.

3 ...ese sounds have usually been omitted in the Toda words as written in this book.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

themselves. I have already pointed out that the great majority of the names of Toda places and institutions which have been recorded by previous writers are the Badaga names and not the Toda names, and, as might have been expected, many Badaga words have found their way into previously published Toda vocabularies.

In my own work my procedure was to take down a sentence first through the interpreter, then to go through the words of the sentence one by one asking the Toda to say each word carefully, and often he had to repeat it many times before I could satisfy myself about the nature of the sounds. Often I would get a second or third Toda to say the word, and I have frequently spent many minutes over one word, and have perhaps then been baffled in my attempts to write the word satisfactorily.

I noticed continually that the Toda words as pronounced by my interpreters were quite different in sound from those which came from the mouths of the Todas themselves. This was especially the case with the vowels, and in the addition of the initial *y*, so well known in the Tamil pronunciation of English. So far as I could detect, there was no trace of this initial *y* in Toda, although it occurs occasionally in some of the previously recorded Toda vocabularies.

These differences between the pronunciation of my interpreter and that of the Todas may often be the source of inconsistencies in my record, for on some occasions, owing to lack of time, I was unable to listen carefully to the Todas themselves, and had to content myself with the words given to me by the interpreter.

PHONETICS

In order to indicate the sounds of the Toda language, I have kept as closely as possible to the generally recognised system in use in India, but have been obliged to adopt many more signs than those usually employed.

The vowel sounds which I distinguished were very numerous. The following vowels and diphthongs certainly occurred:

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

126 194 *â, a, ä, ê, e, ê, i, ô, o, ö, ò, û, u, ü, ai, au, ei, eu, oi.*[1] I am doubtful, however, whether in some cases a distinction between two sounds was not due to individual differences of pronunciation or to dialectical differences. This is almost certainly the case with the distinction between *ai* and *oi*. Some other cases which are more complex may be considered in detail.

A, *ò*, and *o*. The first two sounds are often interchanged with one another. There is no doubt that the usual *â* of some Dravidian languages becomes *ò* in Toda, as in the change from *nâḍ* to *nòḍr*, and most previous writers have regarded this change as constant, and have used the sign *â* for the sound which the Todas undoubtedly pronounce like the *aw* of the English word 'law.' I should much have liked to follow their example, and by so doing could have avoided the introduction of a new sign for the Toda sound, a sound for which there appears to be no generally recognised symbol in the phonetic systems used by anthropologists. I could not do so, however, because the Todas sometimes use the true *â* sound. There are certain words which are always pronounced with exactly the same sound as in the English word 'father,' and I never heard these words pronounced otherwise. In some cases there is a definite reason why this should be so. Thus the Toda word for 'again' is *mâr*, and I never heard this word uttered otherwise than as I have written it. If it had undergone the common transformation it would have become *mòr*, the *ti* word for buttermilk, and in one case at least there would have been occasion for misunderstanding, for one of the salt-giving ceremonies is called *mârup* or 'again salt,' while another is called *mòrup* or 'buttermilk salt.' The syllable also occurs in the words *pâtatmâr* and *ertatmâr*, and is never pronounced in these words otherwise than as I have written it. On the other hand, there are certain words in which the sound is always that of *ò*, and in other cases the two sounds are undoubtedly interchanged, and in the latter case I have usually adopted the spelling in *â*. A good example of this is *pârs* or *pòrs*, milk, for which

[1] For equivalents of these signs in English words see the Phonetic System at the beginning of the book.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

I have throughout adopted the former spelling, though it is quite as often called *pȯrs*. 126 194

The *ȯ* is often shortened into *o*, and this is especially the case with the word for 'man.' The general Dravidian form of this word is *ȧl*, but in Toda it becomes *ȯl* or *ol* (which I write as *ol*), and in compound words, such as *palol* and *wursol*, it is always, or nearly always, pronounced so as to be indistinguishable from the *o* of the English word 'olive.' The long *ȯ* is not a very frequent sound in Toda.

A and ä. The sign *a* is used, in accordance with the general Indian practice, for the sound of the English word 'hut,' one of the commonest of Toda sounds. It is undoubtedly interchanged sometimes with the sound of the English word 'hat,' for which I use the sign *ä*. In such cases of interchange, I use the sign *a* in preference, but when I always heard the *ä* sound, I have used it. It seemed to me that this sound was especially frequent in proper names, as in that of the village Pïm and in such words as Kän.

Ȯ and u. These are used for the sounds of the words 'moon' and 'full,' and both are of frequent occurrence. The short form seems occasionally to be changed into *a*; thus, the word *mun* means 'maternal uncle,' but the word for 'sister's son' is *manmokh*. This is a good instance of the value of vowel sounds in Toda; the *munkugh* is the sister's daughter, but the *munkugh* is the name of the daughter of a maternal uncle. The two words which resemble one another so closely have two very different meanings, those of niece and cousin.

Ë and ei. I use *ë* for the sound of the *ei* in the English word 'their.' *Ei* is the sign which I use for the long *ä* of the English word 'date.' A sound for which I often use this sign is one which gave me a great deal of trouble. In it the vowel sound is prolonged so as to form almost a dissyllable, and in my earlier records I wrote it *ëi*, the first *ë* having the sound of the *ei* in 'their.' I decided later to use *ei*, though I acknowledge it is not at all a satisfactory representation of the sound I heard.

ï. The only point on which I have to remark about this sound is that it is sometimes prolonged so as to become a dissyllable as in the example already mentioned. In one

1; Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

126 194 case, the word *mfis*, used in the *erkumpttkpimi* ceremony, this prolongation of the sound is so marked and so constant that I have preserved a record of it in the spelling, but in most cases I have been content to indicate it by *f* only.

Eu and ö. I use the former sign for a sound which seemed to me very much like the French *eu*. It often resembled very closely the German *ö*, and in some cases, as in that of the word for the numeral 7, I was doubtful which was the right sign. The sound for which I use *eu* is, however, more prolonged, and approaches a dissyllable. It occurs in the most definite form in the word for god, *teu*. This is undoubtedly derived from the Sanscrit '*deva*' in general use in Southern India, and it is therefore very interesting that this word, which has become '*Dieu*' in French, should have become the very similar *teu* in the Toda language.

U, ü, and *i.* The *ü* sound, almost exactly like that of the German language, was common, though in many cases I was doubtful whether to write *u, ü,* or *i.* Thus it was difficult to say whether the word for bow was *purs, pürs,* or *pirs*; the last named would bring it in line with general Dravidian orthography, but the first seemed to me the most frequent, and I have therefore adopted it.

Ai and *oi.* The sound *ai* is not very frequent in Toda, and when it occurs is often on the way to *oi.* Thus the *naim* or council was often *noim*, and *mogai* and *mogoi* were said indifferently.

I had very much difficulty in writing the consonants, being especially troubled by my lack of familiarity with linguals. The following were those which I heard:—*b, ch, d, ḍ, f, g, gg, gk, h, j, k, kh, l* and *ḷ, m, n, ṇ, p, r, s, sh, t, th, v, w, z, zh.*

In the text of the book I have not attempted to distinguish the lingual consonants, and I have also omitted the very common euphonic insertions, especially of *ch, sh,* and *th.*

B, p, v, w, and *f.* The sound expressed by *b* was heard very rarely, and I am doubtful whether it really occurs in true Toda. It is a common letter in Badaga, but when a Badaga word is pronounced by the Todas, the letter usually becomes *p*. In a few words I had much difficulty in making up my mind whether a given sound was *b* or *p*, and this was especially

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

the case with the word *kudupel* or *kudubel*, which is probably a Badaga word. 126 194

One of the most frequent consonants in Toda is *p*, which often changes into *v*, especially when *p* is the initial letter of the latter part of a compound word; thus the word *pet* or wand in *pôkpet* became *pôkvet*, *kugpali* became *kugvali*, and *nedrpol*, *nedrvol*. Occasionally *p* would become a distinct *w*, as in the name of the flower *kargwûv* for *kargpûv*.

The letter *f* undoubtedly occurs in Toda, though not very frequently. It is sometimes changed into *v*, but in some cases, as in the name of the ancient village Kusharf, I never heard any sound other than a distinct *f*. I did not hear *f* and *p* interchanged.

As already mentioned, the letter *w* may occasionally occur as a variant of *p* or *v*, but it also occurs in words where it is never interchanged with either of these letters. The most frequent example of the occurrence of the letter is in the word *wursol*, and here the sound was so elusive that for a long time I hesitated whether to write the word as *wursol* or *ursol*. Breeks wrote this word *varzkol*, and we may take it that he distinctly recognised the initial letter as allied to *v* and *p*.

D, *d*, *t*, *th*. I have used the sign *d* for two sounds in the text. One I could not distinguish from the English sound expressed by this letter. It is sometimes the representative of *nd* of Badaga, *wand* or village becoming *mad* in Toda,[1] while the Badaga form of Pidati is Benduti. The *d* of other Dravidian languages often becomes *t* in Toda; thus *pandawa* becomes *pateva*, and the Teivaliol almost certainly derive their name from some form of the word *deva*.

More frequently, however, *d* is used for the lingual consonant *ḍ*, which is one of the commonest sounds in Toda. Very often this letter is immediately followed by the letter *r*, and the combination *ḍr* (which in the text of the book I have written *dr*) is an extremely frequent sound. Often to my ear it was quite indistinguishable from the simple *r*, and usually I had to refer to my interpreter to know whether a given sound was *ḍr* or *r*. Neither of my interpreters

[1] *Mad*, or more usually *madti*, is also the Toda word for churn, and this word is probably derived indirectly from the Sanscrit *manthe*.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

126 194 seemed ever to be in any doubt, and they were so consistent on this point that wherever this spelling occurs it is probably correct. So far as I can tell the *ḍr* is the representative of *ḍ* in other Dravidian languages; thus, *nāḍ* of Canarese becomes *nāṇḍr*, and the *kēḍu* of Badaga becomes *kēḍr*. On reference to the list of Badaga and Toda names of villages given in Appendix III. it will be seen that the *ḍr* of the Todas is usually the equivalent of the Badaga *ḍ*, Telkodu becoming Telkudr, and Kudimal becoming Kudrmas.

The sound which I express by *dr* has been very variously spelt by previous writers; thus, the Toda future world has been written *Humaxorr* or *Omnorr* by Harkness, *Amundā* by Breeks, *Amudr* by Marshall and Pope, and *Amnor* by Thurston, and the sacred plant *tudr* has been written *tūd*, *tūde*, *tiurr*, *tūre* and *tūr*.

When the sound *ḍ* occurs before letters other than *r*, I am afraid I may have often omitted it. Thus till nearly the end of my visit I wrote the word *teḍshk* as *teshk*, and the name of the village *Teḍshteiri* as *Teshteiri*, and I have little doubt that this letter, the presence of which I had so much difficulty in recognising, may have been omitted in other cases.

There seems to be no doubt that *ḍr* and *t* might sometimes be interchangeable. Thus the termination of personal names, *kūtan* seemed to be the same word as *kūḍr*. A horn is *kūḍr* and imitation-horns are *kūter*. An assembly is *kūt*, and the corresponding verb is *kūḍriti* (3rd person singular). Sometimes *ḍr* becomes *rt*; thus the word *kēḍr* becomes *kērt* in the compound word *kērtnādr*, and the names of the clans Kuuḍr and Pieḍr often become Kuurt and Piert in the words Kuurtol and Piertol.

I failed to distinguish between *t* and *ṭ*, and it is probable that my *t* includes both letters. My interpreters used the sign *th* for *ṭ*, as is common in the transliteration of missionaries and others in India, and I am afraid that in a few cases my *th* should stand for the lingual *ṭ*. It is very unfortunate that *th* should be used for *ṭ*, for the true *th* not only occurs among the Todas but is a very frequent consonant. It is frequently inserted euphonically in words which are at other times pro-

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

nounced without it, and this is especially the case in connexion with the letter *l*. The consonant *th* also occurs frequently apart from any other consonant, in such words as *pûthi*, *pathaxmul*, &c.

I think it probable that under the sign *th* I have included two sounds, that of the English word 'though' and that of 'throw,' but I could not make up my mind whether the two sounds were definitely distinguished. The softer sound is undoubtedly the more common, and often it seemed to me to be even softer than this sound is ever heard in English.

K, *kw*, *g*, *kh*, *gh*, *k*. Perhaps the commonest Toda consonant is *k*, which often becomes *kw*, and it seemed to me that the two were sometimes interchanged, *kûḍr* becoming *kwûḍr*, &c.

The consonant *g* is less frequently heard, but *kûḍr*, especially as the termination of the names of men and places, is often pronounced *gûḍr*, and it seemed to me that this pronunciation is somewhat more common among the Teivaliol than among the Tartharol. The sound *g* occurs very definitely, sometimes at the ends of words as in the names of villages, as in Kwirg and Perg, and in the word *kwg*, and in these cases there is no doubt that it is a true Toda consonant.

The sounds which I have expressed by *kh* and *gh* are fairly common, though I do not feel quite confident that the two sounds are definitely distinguished from one another. I heard them very frequently in the words *mokh* and *kûgh*, and it certainly seemed to me that the final sound of the latter was always softer than that of the word *mokh*. When one or other of these sounds occurs at the end of a word, it is probable that I have in some cases omitted to notice it. A man named Perpakh was called by me Perpa till nearly the end of my visit, and it is probable that I made similar errors which were not detected. Similarly *kh* in the middle of a word may easily escape attention, and this has probably happened in some cases.

I also had much trouble about a sound occurring at the end of a word for which I have used the sign *ḳ*. Its chief

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

126
194 occurrence is in the word *pôh*, and the same or a closely similar sound sometimes occurs in the middle of the word *pali*. The word *pôh* has usually been written *boath*, following Marshall, or *boa* (Breeks). The word certainly often sounded like a dissyllable, but I was doubtful whether this was anything more than the prolongation of vowels to which I have already referred in the case of *ei* and *i*. There is some kind of consonantal sound at the end of the word, but it is certainly not the ordinary *th* nor is it *kh*, and I have adopted *h* as the nearest equivalent though I recognise that it is not the right sign.

R, l. I have already considered the letter *r* in connexion with *d*, but it also occurs frequently by itself. At the end of a word it is sometimes distinctly rolled. When used after a short vowel, as in such a word as *persin*, it was sometimes not easy for me to detect its presence, and occasionally it is possible that I have omitted it from words in which it should occur.

The letter *l* is of fairly frequent occurrence, but has certainly often been lost in Toda in words which contain it in other Dravidian languages; thus the word *ktl*, lower, inferior, becomes *kt* in Toda, though the *l* has been retained in *meil* or *mel*, meaning upper or superior.

There are almost certainly two different *l* sounds in Toda which I failed to distinguish definitely. I have written the word for dairy *pali*, but the second consonant of the word is certainly a different sound from that of the *l* in *meil*, and is probably the representative of the *ḷ* of Tamil. It is in connexion with this letter that the euphonic *th* is so often inserted, and I believe that the proper name for a Toda dairy is *paḷthḷi*. When this *l* occurs at the end of a word, it is sometimes hardly audible, and to my ear bears a very close resemblance to the French *u*. The end of the word Kudreiil seemed to me to be pronounced almost exactly like the end of Auteuil.

It appears that *r* and *l* may sometimes pass into one another; thus, the name of the bow and arrow ceremony is *pursütpimi*, but the buffalo given on this occasion is called *pulkwadr*.

M and n. The letters *m* and *n*, indistinguishable to my

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

ear from the corresponding English letters, are of frequent occurrence. They are, however, often omitted in the Toda forms of Tamil or Canarese words; thus, as we have already seen, the word *mand*, village, becomes the Toda *mad*; the Tamil *ambu*, arrow, becomes *ab*; and the Toda form of Kurumba is *Kûrub*.

The *n* may also disappear from the Toda names of villages when it exists in their Badaga names; thus Tarnard becomes Taradr and Korangu, Kwirg. The omission of the letter *n* and other changes which words undergo in Toda are very well shown in the word *padjpateva*, which is the Toda form of the *Panchpandavas*. Although my ear failed to separate the *n* of the Todas from the English *n*, it is probably different and represents the *ṉ* of Tamil.

In addition to the ordinary *n* the Todas have another consonant which is extremely like the final French *n* for which I have used the sign *ñ*. The sound only occurs in certain exclamations or greetings; the *Oñ* which occurs so frequently in the dairy ritual is pronounced in this way, and so is *bañ*, which is uttered by the *palol* as a greeting to the Tartharol. The sound also occurs in the various kinship greetings. The commonest of these, *tioñ*, offered to an elder brother, is a corruption of *itian*, but I never heard the nasal pronunciation when the word *an* or *anna* was uttered in the ordinary way. In this case the sound I have expressed by *n* is undoubtedly the letter *ṉ* of Tamil, this word being *aṉṉa* in that language.

S, sh, z, zh, dz, j. The sound for which I have used the letter *s* is a somewhat harsh sound, harsher, I think, than is heard in English, but much like the sound which I have heard in English words pronounced by Scottish Highlanders. Breeks wrote *sh* for this sound, but I have used this sign for a different sound which was exactly like the *si* in the English word 'occasion.' It occurs not uncommonly in Toda in such words as *push*, earth, and in the verbal form *kaishvat*.

The sound *z* occurs frequently. I was often doubtful whether to write *dz* or *z*, especially at the ends of personal names, and in other cases what was obviously the same termination was pronounced more like *dj*; thus I was often

J. Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

126 194 doubtful whether to write the name Piliodz in this way or as Pilioz or Piliodj (the three English equivalents would be the sounds of Dods, Boz and Dodge).

The sounds *s* and *sh* are often inserted euphonically; thus, the name Kuriolv is as often as not pronounced Kursiolv, and, more rarely, Kurshiolv.

Sacred Language

192 198 There are three varieties of sacred language in use among the Todas. There is the *kwarzam*, the word or clause used in prayer and other sacred formulæ; secondly, there are certain words and phrases peculiar to the *ti* dairy, and thirdly, there are certain words called by the Todas, *teu* language, which are only used in the legends of the gods.

The *kwarzam* is used especially for the names of gods, persons or objects used in the first portions of the prayers. It is also used in the magical formulæ and in the funeral laments, but it may be that the last use is only due to an extension of the strict meaning of the term. When I began to collect the prayers, I hoped that the *kwarzam* might turn out to belong to some ancient and otherwise forgotten language, but their general nature is evidently the same as that of other Toda words. The *kwarzam* arises either by a slight modification of a name in ordinary use or as a phrase recording some historical or mythical incident.

I give here a short list of *kwarzam* which, with a few exceptions, have not occurred elsewhere. The following are the *kwarzam* of the Tarthar clans:—

The Nòdrsol, *Nòdrstharkûtthars*; the Karsol, *Kârstharkunnadrpêdr*; the Panol, *Pandârpeshdthvaimokh*; the Taradrol, *Pülkudutharpeithar*; the Keradrol, *Kerâdrtharkerâdrkûtan*; the Kanòdrsol, *Munantharpinnantho*; the Kwòdrdoniol, *Adutharathiars*; the Pämol, *Pämûtharkathar*; the Melgarsol, *Narzthar*. The *kwarzam* of the Kuudrol is *Ivihanmokhkûtmeilteu* (see p. 101), but the other Teivali clans have no such special names.

The only one of the above, of which the meaning is quite

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

now proceed to give some evidence which points to this having really happened.

Perhaps the strongest evidence in this direction is the existence of the differences of language to which I have already referred. The chief differences are as follows:—

	Tarthar.	Teivali.
Wooden spoon	*chudi* or *sudi*	*kîrstegi*
Basket	*tòdri*	*putukêri*
Food vessel	*paterkh*	*tòdriterkh*
Round metal vessel	*kûdikunm*	*kûdichakh*
Milking-vessel	*pun*	*kònipun*
A dairy vessel	*tat*	*kashtat*
Iron instrument	*pòditch*	*pòtch*
Comb	*tîrkòli*	*siekhkòli*
Small boy's cloak	*kuchâr*	*kupichâr*
Roof	*pòdri*	*idrnpòdri*
Western side of hut	*mailmerkal*	*meilkushkòni*
Eastern side of hut	*kîmerkal*	*kîkushkòni*
Mushroom	*kiûn*	*âlabi*
A tree	*tipòti*	*ketak*
A black fruit	*kalpom*	*akalpom*
To-morrow morning	*celikhaski*	*pedrkhaski*

I was given one sentence as quite different in the two divisions. This was "Bring a piece of ragged cloth to the dairy!" By the Tartharol this would be rendered, *Palivorsk pari evâ*! but by the Teivaliol, *Kutanpari palivorsk panmeiliteivâ*! the chief difference here being in the verb.

Though these are all the differences in vocabulary of which I could obtain a record, I was told by the Tartharol that formerly there were many more, and that they were diminishing in number because "the Teivaliol were now learning to speak properly."

I think it possible that a phonologist might also detect many differences in pronunciation and accent in the two divisions. I thought that I detected such differences myself —that the Tartharol used a *k* when the Teivaliol used a *g*, for instance—but I am so uncertain about this that I do not feel entitled to lay any emphasis on it. In one case, however, the Todas themselves told me of a difference in pronunciation. They said that the usual word for dairy was pronounced as I have written it in this book but that by the Tartharol it was rather *piili*.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAPTER XXIX.

OUTLINES

OF THE

TUḌA GRAMMAR.

I. THE ALPHABET.

§ 1. THE TUḌA LANGUAGE has no compositions, written or unwritten, not a ballad nor a scrap of anything to indicate intellectual activity. The Tuḍas, like their buffalos, are fine animals; but they are the least cultivated of the Drâviḍian races. CHAP. XXIX. 212

No trace remains of the employment by them of any written character: it is probable, therefore, that they separated from the other Drâviḍians before the 'ur-sprache' of those tribes was reduced to writing.

§ 2. This language, of which but a very scanty fragment remains in use, has more sounds than any other Drâviḍian dialect, and some of these are peculiar to it, seeming to have been modified by the position and habits of the tribe. 194

The Tuḍas chiefly converse in the open air, calling to each other from one breezy hill-top to another. Their speech sounds like Old Kanarese spoken in the teeth of a gale of wind. 191

CHAP. XXIX.

194

§ 3. The vowels are:

Short.	Long.
1. a, as in 'America.' Ex. atham, *he.*	6. â, as aw, in 'bawl.' Ex. âḷ, *a man.*
2. i, as in 'pin.' Ex. nim, *your.*	7. î, as in 'pique.' Ex. nî, *thou.*
3. u, as in 'Cọọk.' Ex. ulg, *within.*	8. û, as in 'Schọọl.' Ex. mûdu, *three.*
4. e, as in 'hem.' Ex. yenak, *to me.*	9. ê, as a in 'pale.' Ex. êt, *why?*
5. o, as in 'opinion.' Ex. k[illegible]ld.	10. ô, as in 'opium.' Ex. ôm, *we.*

Some of these are occasionally modified; thus,

ö sounds as in German, or as eu in French, in 'fleur.'

Ex. tökh, *female.*

ü, as in German, or as u in French, in 'pur.'

Ex. ütah, *five.*

u, at the end of a word, has a very fine sound, approaching to an i. The Drâviḍian 'half u.'

a, in the last syllable of a word, sounds like a very short a

ô and â are almost always interchangeable: thus, the Kanarese *kôl* is in Tuḍa kâl.

§ 4. The Consonants are:

1. k, as in 'kalendar.'	Ex. âḍkun, *I play.*
2. g, as in 'gun.'	Ex. avalg, *to her.*
3. k'h, as in 'blockhead.'	Ex. mokh, *a son.*
4. g'h, as in 'loghouse.'	Ex. any final g may be aspirated
5. j, as in 'jam.'	Ex. majjal, *yellow.*
6. ch, as in 'chin.'	Ex. chen, *red.*
7. ṭ, as in 'ten.'	Ex. ṭerigi, *again.*
8. th, as in 'this.'	Ex. atham, *he.*
9. th, as in 'thin.'	Ex. nilthken, *I stand.*
10. ḏ, as in 'dog.'	Ex. nâḏ, *wet.*
11. ṭ, lingual.	Ex. muṭṭiken, *I feel.*
12. ḍ, lingual.	Ex. kûḍa, *together.*
13. p, as in 'pen.'	Ex. pui, *strike.*

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

194

14. f, as in 'fun.' Ex. pûf, *an insect.*
15. b, as in 'bull.' Ex. boath, *a conical temple.*
16. v, as in 'very.' Ex. vêr, *another.*
17. b'h. Ex. bhût, *a demon.*
18. m, as in 'man.' Ex. âm, *Tuesday.*
19. n, as in 'no.' Ex. tani, *Saturday.*
20. l, hard, lingual. Ex. beḷḷi, *Friday.*
21. r, hard, lingual. Ex. âṛ, *six.*
22. s. Ex. âsvom, *Sunday.*
23. sh. Ex. ittsh, *five.*
24. zh. Ex. êlzh, *seven.*

§ 5. It is difficult to decide whether all these sounds belong to the Tuḍa itself. The aspirates especially, except kh and ch, are, it may be suspected, foreign to it.

§ 6. Some of them seem to have arisen from the lingual ṛ, which is found in all the South-Indian languages, and which existed in the oldest forms of the Drâviḍian. In Madras it is sounded y, and in Tinnevelly l. In Telugu it is softened into r, or changed into t or d. It is a kind of triple r, sounded very far back in the throat, thus seeming to be a mixture of r, l, and z.

It resembles the Welsh ll. (Comp. § 43.)

Thus Kan. *ḍḷu* and Tam. êṛu, *seven*, make in Tuḍa elzh.
„ *kḷ* „ kiṛ, *under* „ „ kirzh.
„ *burude* „ puṛuti, *mud* „ „ purzh.

§ 7. It may be stated as a rule that the Tuḍa sh and zh, (which are strong linguals) generally represent a final l or ḷ of the Kanarese:

Old Kan. and Tam. *pal* (*lu*) in Tuḍa parsh.
„ „ *âḷi*, *âri*, circle „ ârsh.
„ „ *bil* (*lu*), *vil*, a bow „ virzh.
„ „ *puli*, tiger „ pürsh.

§ 8. Sometimes sh is the equivalent for the other linguals; thus,

Old Kan. and Tam. *karaḍi*, a bear, is karsh.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAP. XXIX.

194

§ 9. The letter **f** is pronounced by the Tuḍas full and clear, while any other Drâviḍian race would pronounce 'first' as *pirsht*, the sound of sharp **f** being unknown to them; as are some other sharp sounds, such as *th* in *thin*, and *s* in *sin*.

I think the Tuḍa **f** sound has arisen, as in English, from the corruption of a guttural or lingual.

Enough has become with us *enuf*.

So the Tuḍa **pûf**, 'an insect,' is probably Old Kan. *purlu*.

It must, however, be stated that the words in which **f** is found are precisely those which it is most difficult to trace. Thus,

mîruf is 'nose' (? Kan. *mitte*, 'projecting').
mâf is a 'Baḍagan' (? (Kan.) *mâva*, 'father-in-law,' (used as a term of respect).
or a 'deer' (? *mân*).

§ 10. The lingual ḍ of the Kan. is in Tuḍa sometimes represented by **r**; thus,

nar-k-en, 'I walk.' (Kan. root *naḍ*).
nôr, 'district.' (Kan. nâḍ).

§ 11. **Th** (as in *thin*) and **sh** (lingual) are often euphonically (?) inserted in Tuḍa words. This is quite a Tuḍa peculiarity.

The former sound is not at all Drâviḍian (though it is Keltic); and the latter is only found in the other D. dialects in Sanskrit derivatives.

sh is, however, quite the favourite Tuḍa sound.

Thus, **nilthken**, *I stand*. (§ 26.)
K. **Nil** + temp. part. **k** + inflectionable part. **en**.

Here **th** is a mere euphonic insertion.

Ershken, *I am*.
R. **er** + K. + **en**.

Here, too, **sh** is probably a mere euphonic insertion.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

§ 12. In Tuḍa **v** or **w** is optionally pronounced before **o** initial; thus, **vodd**=*one*; but in the compound we find **oddi-adi**=*alone* (lit. one-step); and **on** or **or** is the Drâviḍian root. So in English 'one' is pronounced 'won.' 194

The possession of this sound of **w** is one of the many noteworthy analogies between the Keltic languages and the Drâviḍian.

So **y** may, as in the other Drâv. dialects, be prefixed to any word beginning with **e**. Thus, **enak** or **yenak**=*to me*.

This, too, is found in English, and is probably due to Keltic influences: *ewe* is pronounced *yew*.

NOUNS.

§ 13. Tuḍa nouns have no inflections for number or gender. 193

§ 14. The Nominative, Accusative, Vocative, and Genitive cases are alike, being the unaltered root.

§ 15. The inflectional particles in use are, (1) for the dative, **g** or **k**; (2) for the instrumental ablative and the ablative of remotion, **end** (or **edd**); and (3) for the local ablative **orzh**.

These correspond very exactly to the Old Kanarese, *ge*, *inda*, and *of* (comp. § 43).

§ 16. The following is a **Paradigm** of a Tuḍa noun:

	ȧḷ, *a man*
N. Acc. Voc. Gen.	**ȧḷ**, *a man*
Dat.	**ȧḷg**, *to* or *for a man*
Abl. (instrum. and remotion)	**ȧḷend** (**ȧḷedd**), *by* or *from a man*
(place) . . .	**ȧḷorzh**, *in a man*.

§ 17. Since the nominative, accusative, and genitive cases are alike, it is chiefly by position that the syntax of a Tuḍa sentence is regulated. A noun immediately before a transitive verb is the object; while a noun before another noun is in the genitive case, or qualifies it like an adjective.

CHAP. XXIX.

The Drâviḍian languages had originally one cerebral, as had the Sanskrit and the Welsh.

193 (2) The Tuḍa *temporal particles* (§ 28) are

k for the *present* (eh, sh, h)
th (sharp) for the *past* (d)
b for the *future* (p, v) (only obscurely indicated).

It is perhaps in vain to form conjectures as to the origin of these, but k seems allied to ge or ke=do;

th may be connected with the root tâ, dâ, d'hâ=*give, place, establish.*
b is possibly allied to S. *bhû* and its cognates.

(3) The Tuḍa nominal inflectional particles, or case endings, are (§§ 15–17) at the most four:

g (k); odd (end); ad; orh.

Of these g I connect with ge=do;

odd (end=erd) is past of er=be;
ad (ath) is adj. pronoun;
orh (or) is the root of a verb, signifying *absolute existence.*

§ 44. On the whole I venture[1] to think that

194 (1) The Tuḍa is a language which was once highly inflectional; but, having lost most of its inflections, the people, who have evidently degenerated in every way as the result of isolation, have not replaced them by significant particles or auxiliaries to the same extent as the other South-Indian tribes; and the language has thus dwindled down to a mere skeleton. It now barely suffices for the purposes of a very barbarous people.

197 (2) The language seems to have been originally Old
174 Kanarese, and not a distinct dialect. The Tuḍas were probably immigrants from the Kanarese country; and have dwelt on the Nîlagiris for about 800 years. Their language was Old Kanarese. A few Tamil forms were introduced by

[1] [The Reverend G.U. Pope, author of this chapter --Analyst]

5: Emeneau L-5 (1935-37) 1937 Toda

● 114

The Toda words given in this paper are written in the alphabet of the International Phonetic Association with some changes. The language has three t-phonemes: t a tongue-tip dental, *t* a tongue-tip alveolar, and ʈ a retroflex; there are three d-phonemes with the same positions, d, *d*, ɖ; only two n-phonemes are found, n alveolar and ɳ retroflex. The language has a peculiar sibilant phoneme, which is homorganic with the alveolar stops and has the body of the tongue well flattened and lowered from the roof of the mouth, thus differentiating it from ʃ in the same position, while its position differentiates it from s. For this sibilant I write *s*. Three r-phonemes are to be distinguished: *r* a one-flap sound at the roots of the upper teeth (the IPA symbol for this sound is not available), r a trill in alveolar position, and ɾ a trill well behind the alveolar ridge, i.e. in retroflex position. The symbol j represents the English y-sound except when between voiceless consonants or final after a voiceless consonant, when it also is voiceless. Of the vowel symbols, ɯ is high, back, unrounded, ö mid, mixed, rounded. Four l-phonemes have to be distinguished, and the limitations of the printer's stock have forced me to write them as follows: l alveolo-dental voiced, *l* alveolo-dental voiceless,] retroflex voiced, *]* retroflex voiceless.

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12; Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938)1941 AW60 Toda AW60

601

Terms of address

Ordinary		Formal	
		Used by men	*Used by women*
a peβa:	pia:		
b peβafa:	or piafa:	a and b same as for c and d	
c pia:		timbje:ʔ	(e)tjβaʔ
d piafa:		timbiafaʔ	(e)tjβafaʔ
e eja:		tjɛ:ʔ, tj:ʔ	(e)tjejaʔ
f afa:		tjafaʔ	(e)tjafaʔ
g muma:		tjų:ʔ	(e)tjmumaʔ
h mimja:		tjmimjaʔ	(e)tjmimjaʔ
i oŋa:		tjǫ:ʔ	(e)tjoŋaʔ
j oka:		tjokaʔ	(e)tjokaʔ
k enda:			
l ena:			
x oiʃja:			
y toɤmoxja:, kuɪxja:			

[194] (The formal terms contain extra-phonemic phonetic material, the glottal stop, nasalized vowels, and initial consonant groups.)

601 In formal address a man, to a man whom he calls enda: or ena:, uses the latter's name
576 plus -es; e.g., kūaromes.

A man who is addressed formally by another man with the salutation timbje:ʔ, tjɛ:ʔ, or tjų:ʔ, answers tæ:m.

Older man or woman to younger woman when putting feet to the latter's forehead in salutation, i.e. in formal address: (e)tjfuneʔ.

Woman to younger male related to her within a patrilineal or matrilineal sib, by marriage or by "lover-mistress" relation, says, if he is of:

tōōßj moiety	(e)tjfakeʔ
toɪrßa: moiety	
melŋa: patrilineal sib	(e)tjfakeʔ
ka:ɪ patrilineal sib	(e)tjɪenaʔ
noɪʂ, mörɪŋ patrilineal sibs	(e)tjßuɪßeʔ
toɪroɪŋ, körroɪŋ, nirj, uŋkitj, kerɯv, puŋgoɪŋ patrilineal sibs	(e)tjɪßuɪʦeʔ

601 Corresponding to these salutations, in a lament for her husband a woman uses the vocatives: uaafaka:, uaafaka:, uaaɪena:, uaaßuɪßa:, uaaɪßuɪʦa:; cf. with these terms the Badaga classification of the Todas given by Rivers, pp. 541–43. A man in a lament for his wife uses the vocative uaafena:; cf. the salutation (e)tjfuneʔ used by older man or woman to younger woman.